AN

ADDRESS

TO

Sir John Cuſt, *Bart.*

SPEAKER

OF THE

Houſe *of* Commons.

(Price One Shilling.)

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TO

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SPEAKER OF THE

Houſe of Commons;

IN WHICH

The CHARACTERS of Lord *Bute*, Mr. *Pitt*, and Mr. *Wilkes*,

Appear in a NEW LIGHT.

BY

The AUTHOR of the LETTERS, ſigned *Scipio Americanus*, in the *Gazetteer*.

Freedom of Speech is the Birthright of an ENGLISHMAN.

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PRICE

AN ADDRESS TO THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE of COMMONS.

Mr. SPEAKER,

THOUGH I have not the honour of being a Member of this Houſe, I have the happineſs of being born a Briton, and the conſciouſneſs of ſtudying upon all occaſions the proſperity of my Country. This, I flatter myſelf, at the preſent criſis of affairs, when every body is laying claim to the title of Patriot, will render my freedom of ſpeech, which I claim as the privilege and glory of a Briton, the more excuſeable.

By freedom of ſpeech, I do not mean the giving vent to a ſour diſpoſition, and diſcontented heart; by declaiming in a

virulent manner againſt, and fixing names of contumely upon any man, or body of men againſt whom I may have taken an antipathy. This, Sir, is proſtituting the freedom of ſpeech to the vile ends of calumny; it debaſes the ſpeaker, and affronts the audience. What I mean then, Sir, is the freedom of declaring my opinion with regard to the propriety or impropriety of meaſures purſued by thoſe at the helm of affairs, without the leaſt reſpect to private intereſt or private pique.

With ſuch a diſpoſition and integrity of heart; equally a ſtranger to guile or bitterneſs, ſhall I now endeavour to ſtate matters as they are, and then ſhall preſume to offer ſomething to the conſideration of the Houſe, which it is hoped will make part of the buſineſs of this Seſſions.

I do not preſumptuouſly mean to ſet up my private opinion, in oppoſition to the meaſures of any ruling party: I ſhall endeavour only to ſtate matters of fact; and though it ſhould fail of immediate conviction, yet if it raiſes a doubt in any who have hitherto preferred an implicit credulity, or voluntary ignorance, to the generous inquiſition of reaſon: If it ſhould prompt any to a cool and impartial enquiry into things; to regard meaſures and not perſons, we may hope to ſee an end

to

to an oppoſition that has opened ſo copious a field for Ballad-makers, Print-ſellers and News-writers to exerciſe their ſatyrical talents; to the overthrow of decency, the diſuniting of his Majeſty's ſubjects, and the deſtruction of the peace and tranquility of the kingdom.

We are now, Mr. Speaker, poſſeſſed of the invaluable bleſſing of peace; a peace glorious to Britain, advantageous to her Allies; and, I will venture to ſay, adequate to every demand that could have been inſiſted on conſiſtent with reaſon, and the circumſtances of things. And this perſuaſion I am led into, from the high opinion I have of the wiſdom of the Parliament, before whom the Articles were laid, and whoſe approbation they met with. Notwithſtanding we find it inſinuated by a party, that this Peace is inglorious to Britain and inadequate to what ſhe might have demanded from her conqueſts: An inſinuation ungrateful to his Majeſty, who (tho' under no obligation) aſked, and was guided by the voice of his people; and affrontive to the Parliament, whoſe judgment is not treated with that candour and deference that might have been expected from its own Members. But what ſurprizes me moſt is, to find a gentleman at the head of this

party, from whoſe good ſenſe, patriotic pretenſions, and high obligations to the Reigning Family, we might have expected a different conduct. Becauſe, admitting the Peace to be bad; the leaſt deliberation would have ſhewn that there was no recalling it; and the only way to rectify what was done amiſs, would be to ſet every engine to work, in order to extricate our country from her misfortunes.

But I ſee, Sir, it is in the ſtate, as it is in the church, *it muſt needs be that offences come.* I don't know the period which has not produced ſome perſons, whoſe extraordinary ſagacity has diſcovered the ruin of the nation, approaching through the ignorance, or corruption of thoſe in power. And how far the late clamour has been the reſult of patriotiſm, or party rage, will appear from taking a view of the conduct of the parties, which I ſhall take the liberty of doing, before I proceed to enquire into the merits of the Peace. But if, in doing this, I ſhould call paſt acts from the grave of oblivion, and thereby ſeem to bear too hard upon particular characters; I hope it will in the end appear to be no invidious indulgence of conjectural reproach; no gratification of the black art of depravity, at the expence of truth; but a laudable zeal for the ho-

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nour of his Majeſty, the dignity of the Parliament, and the tranquility of the kingdom.

I ſhall begin then, Sir, with a retroſpective view of the ſituation of our affairs, and obſerve the means by which this *Leader of the Oppoſition* (for I ſhall diſtinguiſh him by no other title) obtained the direction of them.

It is certain the affairs of this kingdom were at a very low ebb; every effort in America unproſperous, Minorca loſt, Hanover over-run, and our arms unſucceſsful in every quarter. Our colonies were plundered and almoſt ruined; and our enemies triumphantly driving our countrymen into the ſea. Theſe were mortifying circumſtances.—How they came to be ours is nothing to the purpoſe; how they came to be altered is the queſtion? The Engliſh have not only gained and ſupported the character of courage, but ſuch a courage as encreaſes with their wounds. Therefore ſo many wounds given them could not but raiſe their reſentment. In ſhort they had entirely loſt their patience, and would bear the indignity no longer. The firſt beginning of a change appeared in a violent indignation againſt the Miniſtry; the real authors of their ſhame. The general voice was for a change; and as it was the prevailing

opinion

opinion they could not have a worſe; they were ready to embrace the firſt that offered. Now was the time for the ſons of oratory to puſh their fortunes. He who fulminated beſt againſt the Miniſtry, and raged againſt Continental Connections, which were deſervedly the public eye-ſore, and afforded an inexhauſtible fund for eloquence; that man became the darling of the people. There was no withſtanding the arguments againſt entangling the nation in an alliance with the German powers. The Miniſtry gave ground; the trite farce of reſignation was played, and the *Leader of the Oppoſition* took the helm of government. As change of meaſures are always expected from a change of miniſters, the drooping ſpirits of the Engliſh began to revive; and they wanted only to be commanded to beat the enemy.

Well acquainted with the genius of Britain, this *Leader* cheriſhed the generous flame, revived her lifeleſs military operations; and from the bravery of her ſons, has been enabled to make the beſt figure his talents were capable of: A figure the reverſe of his immediate predeceſſors; ſuch as gained him the hearts of that people whoſe ſpirit inſpired him to plan, what their courage ſeldom failed to execute. So far have the meaſures of

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this *Leader* contributed to the preſent glory of the kingdom. So much is due to him in juſtice; and with this I hope he will be content; without aſſuming the whole honour of humbling the inſolence of the enemy, and teaching them to dread that power, they had once but too much reaſon to deſpiſe.

Whilſt our forces were daily gathering freſh laurels; our country emerging from her eclypſe, and regaining her ſplendour; this *Leader* (through whoſe penetration and conduct this happy change was wrought) broke in upon her conſtitution, hurt her intereſt, and diſſipated her treaſures. Strange inconſiſtency! ſuch as will hardly gain credit, ſhould it ever be handed down to poſterity. But ſo it happened, that in the midſt of our triumph, our patriot deſerted us; and after raiſing himſelf into power by decrying continental connections, ſuddenly whiffled round and not only adopted what before he had condemned, but became an an advocate for the moſt ſhameful and burthenſome one of all. The Engliſh and the Pruſſian became one common cauſe; our troops were ſent to Germany in greater numbers, and our money in greater profuſion, than ever had been attempted by thoſe Miniſters, whom he had often attacked on that very account,

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with the moſt virulent harrangues. In this, millions of our preſent debt have been conſumed, without bringing one real advantage to the kingdom. But if this expence was deſtructive to our intereſt, his method of providing for it, was equally ſo to our conſtitution. He firſt incurred the debt, and then moved the houſe for a proviſion to diſcharge it; in which (though it generally amounted to three millions) he had the addreſs to ſucceed. Thus did he, unauthoriſed by parliament, annually diſpoſe of the public treaſure. I know, Sir, it has ſome times happened that the ſupplies granted were inadequate to the ſervice for which they were alotted; in which caſe a ſubſequent ſupply became neceſſary, and was never refuſed when applied for. But this is not the caſe here; this money was expended in ſervices not voted; and a power aſſumed, before the parliament (who alone cou'd grant it) had been conſulted. Thus, Sir, by diſpoſing of money not granted, and that in ſervices not voted, this *Leader* has broke in upon one of the moſt invaluable of parliamentary rights, that of taxing the kingdom; a right that I hope they will watch with a jealous eye, and guard from the attacks of any perſon whatever.

This act, Mr. Speaker, ought to be viewed in its plain and obvious light; ſtripped

ſtripped of the nice diſtinctions and refinements of policy; which only ſerve to amuſe, and allay that ſpirit of power which is neceſſary to preſerve the honour and privileges of the Houſe of Commons.

It muſt be granted, Sir, that there is no ſubject, under the Britiſh monarch, in ſo precarious a ſituation, as is the Miniſter of State. Ever in the hurricane of oppoſition; loaded with the maledictions of the diſappointed; his moſt trifling errors magnified, and his beſt actions overlooked or undervalued; he loſes his friends with his power, and his enemies triumph in his diſgrace. Therefore large allowances ſhould be made for thoſe actions, which do not ſtrike immediately at the liberties of the people. For our not ſeeing clearly into the motives, does not deſtroy the reaſon or neceſſity of an act; and it is in ſingle governments (in a great meaſure) as in the government of the univerſe by a providence; many things are beyond our comprehenſion, yet they turn out to our advantage upon the whole.

But whilſt we are thus tender of our Miniſters, is it not reaſonable, Sir, that they ſhould be tender of each other? The mercileſs ſervant was condemned for endeavouring to ruin his fellow ſervant for a ſmall debt, when he had been forgiven ſo large a one himſelf. And ſince men of

the moſt finiſhed excellence are ſtill but men, prone to many errors in conduct; what a ſhameful figure muſt he cut, who blind to his own blemiſhes, exclaims againſt his ſucceſſor, and charges him with miſconduct, or neglect of the national intereſt, for purſuing the identical plan he purſued himſelf? Waving the equity of ſuch a proceeding; does not this carry the face of deſign, to divert the public from looking into his own actions? or rather does it not ſavour a little of the artful conduct of that perſon, who, when detected in making free with other people's purſes, ran with the mob, crying out *ſtop thief*, and by that means made his eſcape?

To find theſe low ſubterfuges take with the unthinking multitude is ſo common; that it is not ſurprizing to ſee them practiſed by thoſe who court vulgar applauſe. But that man muſt have a high opinion of his oratory, who thinks he can perſuade the repreſentatives of the kingdom, that affairs go well or ill, as, they paſs through his hands or anothers. Indeed it is amazing that theſe frequent gulleries do not put even the loweſt people upon their guard, and deſtroy their credulity. But ſuch is their folly, that their eyes are no ſooner opened by the deluſions of one ſet of pretended patriots; but they ſuffer themſelves to be hood-wink'd by another;

ther; and though theſe deceive in their turn, they put the ſame confidence in the next that ſtart up. It is the prevailing opinion among too many, that the court has always ſome deſign upon the country; and this is the foundation of this implicit confidence that is placed in thoſe who rail againſt the Miniſtry: and if we add to this the humour for ſcandal and reflection, which is ſo pungent, and gives ſuch delight to the generality of mankind; it is no wonder that thoſe men, who take the declamatory and ſatirical ſide of the queſtion, ſhould have the ſuperiority over the ſons of calm reaſon and ſound policy, which few attend to, and ſtill fewer purſue. Hence it is that the author of the North Briton, another (once triumphant) champion in the oppoſition, met with ſuch applauſe. This perſon, Sir, is in politicks, what Whitfield is in religion.—This, holyer than his brethren, or *righteous overmuch*, That has more underſtanding *than his teachers*, is *wiſer than the aged*; that is, as the one is holyer, ſo is the other wiſer in his own conceit. Whitfield, upon the principle of being holyer than his brethren, has taken prodigious ſtrides in his office. Unſkill'd in language, hiſtory or antiquity, he aſſumes to teach not only all the laity of the kingdom, but the clergy too; re-

flecting upon theſe, not only as neglecting, but as ignorant of their duty. So the Author of the *North Briton*, ſwoln with political pride and a redundancy of ſpleen, aſſumes the air of public ſpiritedneſs, and by mixing a good deal of low buffoonery, banter and ridicule, with many falſe aſſertions, a few trite arguments, and ſome airy fabricks of theoretical policy, inſpires his devotees with flights of political enthuſiaſm, teaching them the epithets of mercenary, beggar, hireling and court proſtitute, which are liberally beſtowed upon the Miniſter, and all who are in the direction of affairs. By ſuch low artifices did the North Briton firſt gain ground, and by the ſame only will he be able to maintain it. This author, Sir, may be juſtly called an enemy to the peace, unanimity and glory of this kingdom, conſequently if a Member of this Houſe, a diſgrace to it.

Do but reflect, Sir, upon a Britiſh ſenator courting the applauſe of the vulgar, by the low art of throwing national reflections; and under the crafty pretence of friendſhip to his conntry, advancing the moſt notorious falſhoods to blaſt the reputation of one perſon; and the moſt low bred ſcurrility to defame a whole nation for his ſake; as if providence had ſet a part one corner of the globe for the

reſidence

reſidence of poltroons and ſcoundrels only. It would be a diſagreeable entertainment was I to recapitulate the twentieth part of what he has laid to the charge of that reſpectable body of this empire. But one thing I cannot paſs over without notice, and that is his high dudgeon at their endeavours to improve their fortunes, by getting into places under the government; which I think cannot be called a crime without impeaching every denomination of Britons, even the *North Britain* himſelf. But what are the conſequences of theſe national reflections? They not only excite diſguſt, but they foment publick animoſities, and are productive of private injuries. They are attended by quarrels, law-ſuits, duels, and frequently murders: And as they never anſwer one valuable purpoſe; ſo they are never made uſe of where honeſty, good ſenſe, and good intentions prevail. That people therefore of figure and ſenſe ſhould afford the North-Briton ſo much as a ſmile is extraordinary; but to ſee them countenance his proceedings, and enliſt themſelves under his banner, to the violation of private friendſhip and publick peace, is ſo amazing that if there had not been a few inſtances, it would have been thought impoſſible. But it will appear by the conduct of this author and his abettors, that

they

they are actuated neither by the principles of honeſty or loyalty, but that they are a factious combination againſt preferment and power. Common ſenſe will be uppermoſt when it is not over-powered by prejudice; and where it prevails it tells us, that the crimes of one perſon cannot (with truth) be charged upon a whole body of people. For would it not be abſurd to inſiſt, that the clergy in general are incendiaries, becauſe one of that body armed with rage, and throwing off the meek and peaceable diſpoſition eſſential to his character; fills the trumpet of ſedition, and alarms the people with groundleſs fears of an attack upon their liberty? When therefore a body of men are accuſed for what they cannot all be guilty of; it is more than probable that the ſingle member, for whoſe ſake they were cenſured, may be falſely accuſed alſo. But this is invariably true, that the national reflector muſt either be of very baſe principles, or muſt be deſtitute of other matter for reproach.

The great offence given by this nobleman, and indeed the principal ground of popular clamour, appears to be his availing himſelf of his maſters eſteem; and his rapid progreſs to the higheſt and moſt important poſt in the government; and then his filling (as it is aſſerted) every honourable

nourable and lucrative poſt with Scotchmen only. This laſt aſſertion requires only a denial to confute it; and as to the firſt, I would aſk if there was any thing criminal in it? Any thing to juſtify the clamorous miſrepreſentation it is dreſt in to inflame the publick? I can ſee nothing; unleſs to be born an Engliſhman is a neceſſary qualification for poſts of honour and command; whilſt to be born a Scot qualifies only for common ſoldiers or ſlaves. I have admitted the diſtinction of Engliſhman and Scotchman, notwithſtanding its abſurdity and pernicious tendency, for the ſake of a quere which I ſhould be glad to be reſolv'd in:—Which of the ſeven United Provinces makes the Dutchman? When this is decided it may help towards informing us which of the ſeven united kingdoms of this monarchy conſtitutes the Engliſhman? or in which of our preſent counties he muſt be born, who alone has a right to be truſted with the management of affairs?

The arreſting the author of the *North Briton* has been repreſented as an attack upon the liberties of the people; and a violation of the privilege of parliament. How far it may be the firſt is to be tried by the laws of this kingdom; but how far it is the laſt lies with the parliament to determine. I am not for extending the

power

power of the miniſter at the expence of liberty. May the people of England always pant after liberty, and may they ever enjoy it, without approaching upon lunacy.——I am as jealous alſo, Sir, of the privileges of parliament as any member in the houſe: But whilſt you guard them let them not be extended to the degree of a Popiſh church, which is a ſanctuary for rogues of all ſizes. If one of the members, ſuſpected of an attempt to overthrow the peace and tranquility of the kingdom, is arreſted by an order of the miniſter, ſhall the choſen guardians of that peace and tranquility interfere, and prevent the diſtribution of juſtice, thro' a regard for their privileges? One of the greateſt privileges of the Commons is that of rectifying diſorders within; and if a turbulent member is diſagreeable to any aſſembly, he muſt be much more ſo to the great aſſembly of England. If a member therefore ſcurrilouſly attacks a large body of the houſe; branding them and all that are connected with them, with deteſtable and provoking epithets; this muſt cauſe an inflammation in the body which muſt damp that vigour and deſtroy that compoſure which is neceſſary to every member in the execution of his function; therefore to ſpew out ſuch nuſances is ſalutary; becauſe (as a great man obſerves)

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the over-balance of better men cannot altogether purify an aſſembly where theſe unclean beaſts are admitted. If this duty was not due to the country, the parliament owes it to the King and to themſelves.

Whoever reads the *North-Briton*, Sir, and lays aſide prejudice, muſt immediately conclude, that whatever the author's deſign might have been, it has a pernicious tendency; and though it is not without its merit, yet they cannot counter-balance the miſchief it has done. Had the parliament therefore paſſed it over uncenſured, it would have given him an air of triumph, as if he had ſpoke the mind and language of the houſe. But though his writings are deſervedly condemned, yet as he has offended a large body of the kingdom by them, amongſt whom there muſt be many hot-headed and implacable men, who may think themſelves bound in honour to hazard their lives in vindication of their country; and who may not conſider the ample ſatisfaction they received by the parliamentary cenſure; he muſt be expoſed to many inſults,

from which it is hoped the parliament will ſhield him, and take effectual care that he ſuffers no more than what the law deems due to his offence. He has already hazarded his life with one perſon; it is to be hoped, that none will be ſo baſe as to call him to a ſecond trial; brave men, though inſulted, are of too noble a diſpoſition to exult in the misfortunes that befal the inſultor; and to be brave and forgiving, is the characteriſtic of a true *Britiſh* heart.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I ſhall proceed to enquire into the merits of the peace; and whether the making of it at that time would not have been highly prudent, though the terms had been worſe than they really are.

Whatever might have been the number of men able to bear arms, and how extenſive ſoever our wealth and credit might have been at the beginning of the war, the caſe was quite altered. Our men and money were pretty well exhauſted, and our credit ſtretched to that degree, that it might have been dangerous to puſh it any further. An addition

of

of at leaſt thirty millions was added for the laſt four years to the national debt. Every branch of the revenue was anticipated to pay the intereſt of a principal likely to be entailed upon our poſterity. We had a great army and a great navy at as great an expence; and nothing left for them to do, unleſs the inglorious maxims were revived of making dangerous deſcents, and plundering the hen-rooſts and cabbage-gardens of a few harmleſs peaſants; or taking a trifling fort, or few inches of ground at double its value in money and blood. The *French* had loſt all their moſt important ſettlements, both Eaſt and Weſt, and their fleet was ruined: notwithſtanding this they kept us at bay, and our continental connexions would have enabled them to do ſo till we had neither men nor money to carry on the war. If we could have aſcertained one glorious campaign the next ſummer, and marched our few remaining *Britons* victorioufly to the gates of *Paris*; in this caſe we ought to have waited the event; becauſe then we might have extended our de-

mands to what length we pleaſed; as the *French* king would have been glad to ſave his kingdom upon our own terms. But I would aſk, Sir, whether the ſucceſs of our moſt powerful efforts on the continent gave us room to hope that we ſhould add to the diſtreſſes of the *French* through that quarter? I think not. How then could we expect a better peace by continuing the war?--By beating the *Spaniards*, it may be ſaid, as we did at the *Havannah*: but this is an ill-grounded elevation of hope; it is a confidence too preſumptuous for a chriſtian-ſtateſman, and never entertained by any man who was not bent upon the ſplendid ruin of his country.---But admitting the certainty of victory, how many ſuch conqueſts as the *Havannah* could we bear? two or three ſuch glorious expeditions would infallibly end in an inglorious peace. Thanks be to the author of victory, that there were men whoſe heads were not turned with our ſucceſſes; that there were men who did not chuſe to ſacrifice the lives of twenty or thirty thouſand brave

Britons

Britons (which might have been the conſequence of another embarkation or two) for the punctilio of an hoſtage; nor to add twenty or thirty millions to the national debt, and hazard the bankruptcy of the kingdom, for the ſake of an inſignificant iſland or two, which would have been a very inadequate requital.

When a war continues for years, and becomes general and extenſive, people are apt to loſe ſight of the cauſe, and attribute it to the effects. Thus, as the firſt riſe of the late war was owing to an encroachment that the *French* made upon our *American* ſettlements; conſequently, the ſcene of action ſhould have been confined to thoſe parts. But this being neglected, or for a long time coolly purſued, and ſome few efforts proving abortive, gave an appearance of difficulty to the undertaking; therefore, when the war broke out among the *German* powers, we entered the liſts with the combatants; and have been told that *America muſt be conquered in* Germany. Whether by that means or not

I ſhall not ſtay to enquire, but *America* is conquered; and we have not only gained the few acres that we went to war about at firſt, and drove the *French* from the back ſettlements; but we have drove them from their own habitations, and poſſeſſed ourſelves of all *North-America* from the *Miſſiſipi* to *Newfound-land* incluſive. And why a peace, that puts us in poſſeſſion of more than we went to war for, and at the ſame time provided ſo well for our allies, ſhould be branded with the epithets of inglorious or inadequate, I cannot conceive; unleſs it be a neceſſary conſequence that it ſhould be ſo, becauſe it was not managed by a particular ſet of men.

The perſon who made the moſt noiſe in this affair, and whom I call the *Leader of the Oppoſition*, is candid enough to own, that the preferring our acquiſitions on the continent of *North America*, to the ſugar iſlands, was right. He allows that the boundaries between the *Engliſh* and *French* territories in thoſe parts, are ſuch as anſwer his moſt ſanguine wiſhes. He alſo admits that all our pretenſions

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to cut logwood in the bay of *Honduras*, which is now confirmed to us, was without foundation in equity. And, after all, inſiſts upon it, that the peace is inadequate; becauſe it puts the *French* in poſſeſſion of the iſlands of *St. Lucia*, *Goree* and *Miquelon*, which were conteſted in his time. It is therefore neceſſary to condemn the peace, and to make it appear, that thoſe iſlands were of great conſequence; becauſe in doing this, he juſtifies his obſtinacy in thoſe particulars. This, Sir, is the principal objection againſt the peace. As for keeping the *Havannah*, and obliging the *Spaniards* to pay a conſiderable part of our national debt for the purchaſe of it, which has filled the head of ſome politicians; this is a ſcheme ſo airy, that the good opinion I have of this *Leader's* underſtanding, will not ſuffer me to think he ever entertained it. He knows too well that the iſland of *Cuba* was only half conquered: He knows the purchaſe of that half, and conſidered the many lives it muſt naturally coſt to keep it, which alone was a ſufficient inducement to get

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rid of it upon any reaſonable terms. As the clamour againſt the peace is grounded on the ceſſion of the three iſlands, it may not be improper to conſider their conſequences; and in doing this, I ſhall take the liberty to recapitulate what has been ſaid before me; becauſe it is not only a faithful repreſentation of the caſe, but it is in purer language than I am maſter of.

No perſon, that had been a miniſter, ought to have been ignorant that *Goree* was a place, of all others, the moſt inſignificant upon the whole coaſt of *Africa*. All know that the valuable part there is the gold coaſt; becauſe the great object of trade to thoſe parts is the negro-trade; and thoſe from that coaſt are the fitteſt for the cultivation of the *Weſt-India* iſlands. The *French*, through the vigilance of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, have never been able yet to obtain a ſettlement on that coaſt. The negroes from the gum coaſt are fit only for the milder climate of *North-America*. The *French* were the only nation that, before this war, had any ſettlements

tlements thereon: we had none there; and laboured under this inconvenience therefrom, that the *French* attempted, and ſometimes actually excluded us from any negroe-trade on the gum coaſt, and entirely from the gum trade. It was therefore with a view only of preventing the *French* from engroſſing thoſe trades that *Senegal* became an object of value. The retention of *Goree*, on our parts, could anſwer no end but to exclude the *French* from even the trade of negroes on the gum coaſt; an object by no means of conſequence enough for *Great-Britain* to have drawn upon herſelf the odium of avowing; for, in the courſe of the former negotiation, when it was not thought proper to reſtore *Goree*, *France* required ſome other place to be given her in lieu of it; and had, indeed, the addreſs to fix upon a ſettlement on the gold coaſt for that purpoſe: and it is remarkable, that ſo little was the ſuperior value of a ſettlement on the gold coaſt to that of *Goree*, at that time known, that this propoſition on the part of the *French*, ſo far from be-

ing treated with the indignation it deſerved, was rather indulged.

As for *Miquelon*, Sir, infinite have been the pains to make it believed, that the *Newfoundland* fiſheries depended thereon. If it was poſſible for any perſon to have been ſincerely of that opinion, it muſt have been founded in as utter ignorance of the ſtate of that trade, as that of the *African*. Before the laſt war, *France*, in virtue of her poſſeſſion of *Cape Breton*, and other iſlands in the gulph of *St. Lawrence*, and alſo in virtue of the liberty of fiſhing and drying on part of the coaſt of *Newfoundland*, had rather more than an equal ſhare in the fiſheries there with us. By the firſt negotiation in 1761, as well as the laſt, *France* was to cede *Cape Breton* and all the iſlands in the gulph of *St. Lawrence*, by which ceſſions, and the proviſions, in conſequence thereof, the fiſheries on theſe coaſts were transferred to us. *France* had no other left but that which ſhe had reſerved by the treaty of *Utrecht*, on her ceding to us the whole iſland of *Newfoundland*;

foundland; that is, a concurrent right of fiſhing and drying on part of the North-Eaſt coaſt of *Newfoundland*, from *Cape Bonaviſta*, to *Point Riche*. When *Great-Britain* choſe to inſiſt upon the demolition of *Dunkirk*, under the proviſions of *Utrecht*, *France*, inſiſted in return on having the benefit of the ſtipulations of that treaty, in reſpect to the liberty of fiſhing and drying on the coaſt of *Newfoundland*, and this had been yielded in the negotiation of 1761. But as *France* was to give up *Cape Breton*, and all other iſlands in thoſe ſeas, near which any valuable fiſheries lay, ſhe would have been bereft of any port wherein her fiſhermen could take ſhelter in caſe of ſtorms during the fiſhing-ſeaſon. It was a neceſſary conſequence of renewing to *France* the liberty of fiſhing ſhe enjoyed under the treaty of *Utrecht*, that ſhe ſhould have a port for ſhelter on ſuch occaſions: and no danger could ariſe by granting her ſuch a port, provided it was at ſuch a diſtance from that part of the coaſt ſhe had a right of fiſhing upon, as that her fiſhermen

could not be able in the early part of the ſeaſon to go from, and return to, with eaſe to dry their fiſh in. For this reaſon it was that the iſland of *St. Pierre* was intended to be granted to *France* by the negotiation of 1761, becauſe it lay to the South of the South-Coaſt of *Newfoundland*, when, as the only liberty the *French* had left to fiſh, was at a great diſtance on the North-Eaſt coaſt of *Newfoundland*: no additional right, or extent of fiſhery, could accrue to them thereby, and if not, the addition of *Miquelon* to *St. Pierre*, could be of no moment, as its ſituation was equally to the South, and equally diſtant from that part of the coaſt where the *French* had a liberty to fiſh. Whoever will conſult the memorial preſented to the court of *France*, ſoon after the treaty of *Utrecht*, (which is ſet forth by father *Charlevoix)* will ſee, that all that is really valuable in thoſe Northern fiſheries, the *French* are no longer left in the poſſeſſion of. And the truth is the *French* miniſtry, by way of palliating the great ſacrifices they were making us, of their

fiſheries

fiſheries in thoſe parts, were ſolicitous even of trifles to uphold their credit at home.

The other grand objection, Sir, has more weight in it: that is, the relinquiſhing *St. Lucia*, in exchange for the *Granadas*. It muſt be obſerved, that *St. Lucia* is not only uncultivated, but uncleared. The *Granadas* are in a great meaſure cultivated. The port in *St. Lucia* is no better than that of the *Granadas*; and under one peculiar diſadvantage, affording no ſhelter in the hurricane ſeaſon. But it is urged, that its ſituation is to the windward, and ſo near the port of *St. Pierre* in *Martinico*, made it far preferable to the *Granadas*: and to be ſure if *France* who had paid a price for the reſtitution of *Martinico*, by ceſſions that were admitted to be more valuable to us on the continent of *America*, would have ſubmitted to ſuch a bridle on *Martinico*, it would have been well; but was it reaſonable to expect that ſhe would ſubmit to ſuch an indignity till ſhe had been reduced to the laſt neceſſity? Therefore to break

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off the negotiation upon that account, would have been an unpardonable error, as it would be hazarding more than ſuch an acquiſition was worth.

Thus, Sir, I have faithfully ſtated matters as they are; and whatever may be the real or imaginary imperfections of the peace, it is unjuſt to lay them to the charge of the nobleman then at the head of affairs (whom it is maliciouſly inſinuated took the whole of this weighty affair upon himſelf) unleſs it can be made appear, that the terms are different from thoſe laid before both houſes of parliament. Till that is done, I think they ought to ſhield that miniſter from the venomous arrows of invidious falſhood, and look upon his adverſaries as their own, becauſe they are wounded through his ſides. It is an indirect inſinuation that the houſe of commons were bribed to betray, or were unacquainted with the intereſts of the nation; conſequently that the people are unſafe in the hands of their repreſentatives. Which ever of theſe alternatives the exclaimers againſt the peace

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may chuſe, it is a groſs affront to the houſe; therefore not to reſent it in a becoming manner, I humbly conceive is to acknowledge yourſelves tools to the government; or minors, incapable of acting without the tuition of a few individuals of riper underſtandings.

Mr. Speaker, it is high time there was an end to the unnatural diviſions that prevail amongſt us; which, to the diſpaſſionate inſpector muſt appear to be rather a contention about the great offices, than the honour and welfare of the ſtate. I could wiſh to be miſtaken in this conjecture, Sir, but the clamour againſt the peace, which has had the ſolemn ſanction of the grand council of the kingdom; and the torrent of abuſive reflections, indecently thrown out againſt the aſſerted author of it, are too ſtriking characteriſticks to eſcape ſuſpicion. Nothing can ſo effectually heal this factious diviſion, as the immediate interpoſition of the parliament, by whoſe votes of cenſure or approbation, men and meaſures muſt ſtand or fall. And after this is done,

Sir,

Sir, it is to be hoped, that all parties will unite to make a proper uſe of the advantages derived from the peace.

Trade is the life of the nation, therefore whatever advances, trade ought to be the particular care of the parliament. Of all the branches of commerce, that of our colonies ought to be regarded as the moſt valuable, becauſe it is not in the power of other nations to rival us in it, as they may in the markets of other ſtates. The trade of our plantations is engroſſed entirely by ourſelves, and that under ſuch regulations as are moſt for the advantage of the mother country; it is the nurſery for ſeamen, and the ſupport of our mechanics. Colonies to a country, are what the branches of the root are to the tree; by theſe it encreaſes in ſtrength, by theſe it flouriſhes; by theſe the monarch overtops the petty princes, as the oak does the ſhrubs that ſurround it. His Majeſty, ſenſible of this, has by his royal proclamation, encouraged the peopling of our land acquiſitions; land is granted to every man in proportion to his rank.

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This to people who have lived only wherel and is valuable, ſeems a very extraordinary encouragement: and yet I believe it will be no inducement to ſuch as can fix themſelves upon the royal grant at their own expence, to leave a temperate climate, where every demand of nature can be gratified, where they can ſpend their days in pleaſure, and ſleep away their nights in ſecurity. Theſe are not the men, Sir, that are to contribute towards peopling our colonies. No, they are men of no fortunes, ſuch as the fifty acres of land are granted to; by ſuch only have all colonies been planted. And now I would aſk how theſe men are to get there? or ſuppoſing four or five thouſand placed upon their lots, what can they do without implements of huſbandry? or how are they to live till they can reap the fruits of their labour? Some proviſion muſt be made to find them in utenſils, proviſions for one year, and a muſquet with ſome powder and ball for each man able to bear arms: without this laſt article, excluſive of any danger from the *Indians*,

there can be no living comfortably in thoſe woods. Beſides, Sir, I am of opinon there ought to be a proper force kept in our new acquiſitions, for the protection of the ſettlers; for it ought to be conſidered, that theſe adventurers have a danger to encounter, which, (tho' but trifling to the firſt ſettlers on the continent) is now become one of the greateſt ſhocks to the bravery of an *Engliſhman*. We always found the *Indians* treacherous; but at firſt they were cowardly, and could ſcarcely be called offenſive, more than the quadrupedes of the woods. They knew nothing at all of powder, and fled terrified at the exploſion of a gun. Their whole defence lay in the bow and arrow, therefore it required no more but to ſee and conquer them. But is that the caſe now? Do not our daily intelligences convince us what a dreadful enemy they are become? and though they have not the open and brave hearts that the *Engliſh* have, yet they have the thieviſh and treacherous heart of a wolf, who ſteals upon his victim in the abſence of the

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ſun, and ſurprizes him at an hour that all animals (except the ſons of blood) have devoted to reſt. This, with the advantage of having the ſame offenſive weapons that we have, with equal dexterity in uſing them, multiplies an hundred to a thouſand; and ſhould make the government double their concern for the preſervation of theſe otherwiſe forlorn adventurers. What force may be neceſſary for their protection, I ſhall not take upon me to ſay. But as this once deſpiſed enemy, has increaſed in boldneſs, ſo far as to give us battle in the open day; as they have attacked our forts, and reduced them to the extremity of capitulation, it is no inconſiderable force that will keep them in awe. And, whilſt you are thus providing for the temporal welfare of our New Colonies, it is to be hoped you will not be altogether neglectful of their ſpiritual affairs. *Louiſiana*, *Florida*, *Canada*, have lately been the ſeats of bigotry, ſuperſtition and tyranny. Let the pure goſpel of Chriſt be preached there, and a door of knowledge opened, not for the

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Barbarian only, but to enlighten ſuch as have been bred up in a falſe religion; and to keep thoſe ſtedfaſt who have been educated in the true.

The real patriot, who has the true intereſt of his country in view, will contribute all in his power to render effectually ſo ſalutary a ſcheme; whilſt the pretended patriot, ſtudies to foment our diviſions and broils, from a view of forcing himſelf into power in the general confuſion. But,--- may power attend none but ſuch as ſtudy the public good: may the nation unite in affection, never to be divided more; and may all who endeavour to obſtruct this union, fall victims to it, and ſuffer a puniſhment adequate to their crimes.

FINIS.